

ERP fund battle not yet won

Hearings before the Senate Appropriations Committee have succeeded in showing up startlingly the stupidity of the corresponding House Committee in voting amazing cuts in funds for European relief (cf. "Congress as wrecker," *AMERICA*, June 19, p. 263). Not only has testimony before the Senate Committee made clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that such reductions would cripple U.S. prestige and offer manna to the Communists, but the report of Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administrator, provided cold figures to prove the economic folly of such wanton pruning. Under the House figures, said Mr. Hoffman, slashes made in funds to help Europe recover would have affected primarily machinery and other capital equipment. Shipments of food could not be reduced, as European manpower is already weakened by malnutrition, and so the false economy would have been achieved by reducing funds allotted for machinery from the original \$1.1 billion to \$100 million. This would have neatly reduced the ERP to exactly what it is not supposed to be—a program of mere relief—and the House's niggardliness, instead of saving us money, would have poured more down the drain. So, on the mere level of hard-headed business, to say nothing of international statesmanship, the isolationism of some members of the House would have been a great disservice to this country, as well as the rest of the world, whose sole hope we quite literally are. At this writing, the Senate Committee has restored all of the House cuts save some \$245 million but, when the appropriation goes into joint conference for compromise, the Senate's good sense and high ideals are due to meet stubborn House narrowness. Chairman Taber of the House Committee avers that he will not yield an inch, and he and his confrères have sardine-tin minds on the matter. It is sad that one of the most magnificent aspects of U.S. foreign policy is still in danger of being compromised into ineffectiveness.

Germans cool to Western-state plan

Recommendations of the London Conference, calling for the creation of a Western German state, have met with more opposition than was originally expected. That the Russians would oppose and combat any plans which did not suit their own purposes, surprised no one. More important, however, is the attitude of the German people themselves. Upon announcement of the plan drawn up by the six-Power conference, the Germans reacted quickly. To the surprise of some policy-makers, this reaction was almost exclusively negative. Even German parties which were regarded as friendly to the Allied governments expressed themselves in a manner which indirectly assisted the Soviet administration in Eastern Germany. For instance, Jakob Kaiser, Christian Democratic leader, bluntly asserted that "modern constitutions can only be cre-

ated through the will of the nations." What he meant was the fact that no German group, party or leader, had had any voice in the formulation of the plan in question. A similar reaction came from the Social Democratic party, largest political group in the Western zones, whose leaders frankly stated that the Western Allies' plans represented "a one-sided foreign decision that lies outside German responsibility." Significantly, this is the kind of argument vigorously propagated by the Soviet administration in Eastern Germany and its servants, the *Einheit* (Unity) Party, the "People's Congress" and other communist-dominated organizations. Playing on German nationalist feeling, the Russians have artfully exploited "the will of the nation," by circulating a "people's petition." This they hope to utilize as an endorsement by the entire German people of Soviet Russia's blueprint for German "unity." Apparently realizing that the coolness of the Germans toward the Western plan would only help the Soviets, General Clay, U.S. Military Governor, has come out with amendments. He has stated that it is up to the Germans to accept or reject the plan; and that the Western Allies have no intention of "forcing specific constitutional provisions." The plan, it is recalled, provides for inclusion of Eastern Germany, if "circumstances permit." Whether the Germans will warm up to the project, it is as yet too early to say. Political observers, however, believe that the Soviets and the German parties they endorse have gained a considerable, if only an initial, advantage in this all-out battle for control of Germany. For this they have been preparing during the past three years.

Russian plans for Germany

What impact the six-Power plan for Western Germany will have upon Soviet-Western relations is not hard to perceive. Simultaneously with the Soviet press barrage against the West, Russians in Berlin increased their pressure upon American and British occupying forces. Most outstanding features of the tense situation so far are: postponement of the Allied *Kommandantura* meeting; constant blocking of the zonal border by the Soviets, both for air and rail traffic; Russian refusal to clear out their broadcasting building in the British sector of the capital. Berlin, in the opinion of experienced observers, continues to be a major objective of Russian policy. Those who know how the Russians operate believe they will soon come out for a "unified" German state, under the Soviet aegis, and several indications point in that direction. First is the presence of the Soviet-sponsored "German Liberation Army," or *Deutsche Befreiungs Armee* (DBA), organized by the Soviets from the German PW's. Several close collaborators of former Marshal von Paulus are back in uniform with these units. No one, of course, is able accurately to estimate the size of this army. It is known, however, that several detachments are training

in Soviet Russia, their HQ being at Dimitrov, a small town north of Moscow. Discipline is said to be even more severe than in the former German army. It is quite possible that the Russians, who have been appealing to German nationalistic instincts for some time, will soon make a move toward a central German government under Moscow's protective hand. The Imperial flag would be a symbol of an old Germany for which many Germans are believed to yearn. In this way, the Russians think, they will again checkmate the Western Allies and score one more point in the eyes of disillusioned and bewildered Germans.

Legal opinion on released time

To certain groups in New York City and State the released-time program of religious instruction, even off public-school premises, is illegal in view of the Supreme Court decision in the Champaign, Ill. case. As the plaintiffs' charges are being argued in the New York courts, we hope that due weight will be given to the fact that the attorneys general of North Carolina, Utah, Oregon, Kentucky, California, and the school superintendents of Durham, N. C., Indianapolis, Chicago and numerous other cities, upon legal advice, have declared for the legality of off-the-premises released time. And added to these are the New York State Solicitor General and the State Commissioner of Education, whose finding of legality for New York's released-time law is being put to the test by the Freethinkers, various Jewish groups, the Civil Liberties Union and the United Parents Association of New York City. So far as we can ascertain, only the attorney general of Michigan and the school superintendent of St. Louis have ruled that the Champaign decision also affects released time outside public-school buildings. All other published opinions contend that there is no justification for extending the Supreme Court decision beyond the limits of the Champaign case, which had to do with the use of public-school buildings in carrying out the released-time program.

Protestant leaders on Church-State cooperation

What a lot of us had hoped for has happened. The manifestoes of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State represented the techniques if not quite the language of a long line of Protestant broadsides against the "policies" and "pretensions" of the Church. But now a group of twenty-four Protestant churchmen has signed a different sort of manifesto. While it is no direct attack on Protestants

United, it is in effect a forceful contradiction of much that Protestants United stand for. Taking off from the March 8 Supreme Court decision on released time, the statement characterizes the Court's view of separation of Church and State as "unwarranted by the language of the First Amendment." Whatever the intention may be, "this hardening of the idea of 'separation' by the Court will greatly accelerate the trend toward the secularization of our culture." And the statement continues:

We favor the separation of Church and State in the sense which we believe to have been intended in the First Amendment. This prohibited the State from giving any church or religious body a favored position, and from controlling the religious institutions of the nation. We contend that Jefferson's oft quoted words, "wall of separation," which are not in the Constitution but which are used by the Court in the interpretation of the Constitution, are a misleading metaphor.

The traditional and genuine American reading of the Constitution, the churchmen assert, permits "cooperation, entered into freely by the State and Church and involving no special privilege to any church and no threat to the religious liberty of any citizen." As Protestants, the group desires "to affirm this interpretation of the American doctrine of separation of Church and State, and to protest against the interpretation that has been formulated by the Supreme Court." Among the twenty-four signers of this heartening proclamation are Methodist Bishop James C. Baker, Episcopal Bishop Angus Dun, Methodist Bishop (retired) Francis J. McConnell, Episcopal Bishop William Scarlett of Missouri, Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry P. Van Dusen and John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., Robert L. Calhoun, Liston Pope and H. Richard Niebuhr of Yale University Divinity School, Dean Charles W. Gilkey of the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Chapel, Douglas Horton of the Congregational Christian Churches, Henry S. Leiper of the American Committee for the World Council of Churches, Justin W. Dixon of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. In conclusion these churchmen declare:

The situation created by these decisions of our highest court makes clear that it is important for our great religious communions, without obscuring their differences of faith and policy, to explore the possibilities of working together. Only as we realize such possibilities shall we succeed in maintaining the religious foundations of our national life.

We can accept this statement at face value, and as a sign of new strength against secularism.

Taft-Hartley at sea

As the climax to a series of zany developments, the Justice Department, on orders from President Truman, secured from Federal courts in New York, Cleveland and San Francisco, a temporary restraining order against a maritime strike threatened for June 15. Negotiations between a half-dozen sea unions and shipping operators, which began in mid-April, had foundered on union demands that the hiring hall be continued and even strengthened. On the ground that this type of union security—which maritime workers place on a level with

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Magna Carta, the Rights of Man and the Declaration of Independence—violates the Taft-Hartley Act, the operators refused the demand. They did more: they filed charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board against the National Maritime Union and the American Radio Association. Their position was supported by Robert N. Denham, general counsel of the NLRB. Meanwhile, as the strike deadline approached, Mr. Truman appointed a fact-finding board. Under the leadership of Professor Harry Shulman, of Yale, the Board did an expert, expeditious job. It charged both operators and unions with a lack of imagination and ingenuity in handling the hiring-hall issue and pointed out that "the basic dispute, which overshadows all the other issues in controversy and which has thus far rendered agreement on any point impossible, arises from the amendment of the National Labor Relations Act by the Taft-Hartley Act." Thus it came about that President Truman invoked the Taft-Hartley Act to stop a dispute of which the Taft-Hartley Act was at least the occasion, if not the major cause. Furthermore, under the terms of the injunctions granted by the courts on June 14, the existing agreements must be continued unchanged, which means that both unions and employers must observe a practice—the hiring hall—which Mr. Denham says is an unfair labor practice under the Taft-Hartley Act. Finally, the refusal of the operators to grant the hiring hall for fear of violating the Taft-Hartley Act has the deplorable effect of weakening President Joseph Curran in his all-important (for the good of the country) fight with the Communists for control of the NMU. And so it appears that except for creating chaos in the maritime industry and strengthening the Communists there, the Taft-Hartley Act is proving a roaring success on the American waterfront.

Begorrah, I'se gwine and the Jesuits

"Intercultural understanding" is a big-sounding phrase that simply means, among other things perhaps, that you will never understand other people until you stop seeing them as caricatures. After much moiling and toiling we have just about reached the point where we have expunged from our prejudices the stage Irishman and the stage Negro, when lo! *Life* lifts another of its apocalyptic curtains on the course of history and manipulates onto center stage, complete with wires and creaking joints, the stage Jesuit. June 14 was the date of the performance, *The Protestant Revolution* the play. Enter Jesuit. No ascetic he (it is "forbidden" him), but versed in the social arts by which he will "ingratiate" himself among people of influence; he is "cheerfully and intelligently" worldly; he spies and is spied on, and provides his Father General with an enormous mass of internal intelligence reports (alas for the poor General; he himself is subject to five spies of the Order officially appointed for that purpose); and by "insisting on the principle that the end justifies the means" he makes himself dreaded even by Catholics (which, by the bye, doesn't seem to be an "intelligently worldly" fashion). Come, come, smart, streamlined, up-to-the-minute *Life*,

Eugene Sue has long since moldered, and so has Alexander Graham Bell, for that matter; but the second gentleman did invent the telephone and a nickel call would have given an AMERICA editor (let us say) a good guffaw and saved you no little chagrin. For, you know, there *are* Jesuits, even here in New York City; in fact, your Mr. Luce had dinner with two of them quite recently. The Jesuits enjoyed it—they were that worldly. We wonder if Mr. Luce will enjoy reading in his own magazine of the horrible danger to which he exposed himself on that occasion?

France at the crossroads

The French Government is now undergoing the severest test it has yet had to meet. To date, in both the foreign and the domestic field, it has come through safely, owing to the ability and tenacity of its leader, M. Schuman. In the matter of the school question—the most delicate issue raised between MRP and the Socialists—a settlement has been reached and a bill finally passed, after long deliberation, much opposition and some amendments. The bill, published in the *Journal Officiel*, due to the initiative of Mme. Poinso-Chapuis (MRP), provides for financial aid for scholarship to the family associations so that parents in financial distress can continue to pay for attendance of their children at the confessional schools to which they wish to send them. This concession, even if it represents only part of their wishes, is considered by most Catholics a victory for the MRP, although some Integrists have organized a meeting of protest, under the leadership of Père Fillière, against a measure they call a defeat, a mere palliative. This last position represents the point of view of the Catholics of the Vendée and western France. In the matter of foreign policy, the battle still rages against Foreign Minister Bidault's ratification of the six-Power agreement on Western Germany. The account given by M. Bidault of his negotiations has displeased Communists as well as DeGaullists. In spite of the substantial advantages he wrung from the conference regarding international control of the Ruhr's output, both accuse him of having failed to give France sufficient guarantees against the rebuilding of military power in Germany. Further, the Assembly tried to make a last attempt to include Russia in the agreement and thus prevent the splitting of Germany into two parts. Before the talks of the Western Allied Commanders in Frankfurt—although at the moment this seems excluded—the French Assembly would like to arrange a re-opening of the negotiations, on at least some features of the six-Power agreement. The Schuman Government—and in this case that also means Bidault—after a whole week of discussion, has won a "*majorité de faveur*" in the vote on the six-Power agreement. A few reservations, however, are held in mind for future consideration. The fact that nobody wants to take the place of either M. Schuman or M. Bidault in such difficult circumstances, also the fact that the Communists and DeGaullists are against the six-Power agreement, were points in favor of the present coalition government and may prolong its life for some time.

Bulwinkle bill vetoed

Ever since the Civil War the railroads have been one of the nation's economic problem children. Following unsuccessful efforts by the States to cope with their unabashed buccaneering, the Federal Government intervened and, on February 4, 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act became law. Under this Act was established the first modern regulatory agency of the Federal Government, the Interstate Commerce Commission. History records that the financial community was so little frightened by the new law that, upon its passage, rail stocks rose on the market. That this optimism was not without foundation became clear as the years went on. Between a reactionary Supreme Court, which extracted the law's teeth, and the unreconstructed rail magnates, who successfully evaded its provisions, the ICC was quickly reduced to futility. After the turn of the century, however, the Commission began to fulfill the expectations of its creators and the concept of "regulated competition" became something of a reality. Just how much of a reality, though, was always disputable, and during the war the Justice Department filed an anti-trust suit against the carriers in Federal Court at Lincoln, Nebraska. This was the signal for the railroad lobby to get busy on Capitol Hill. Rather than permit the courts to decide the case, the carriers went to the 79th Congress for an exemption from the Sherman Anti-trust Act. What this Congress failed to give them, the 80th did, and three weeks ago the Bulwinkle bill went to the White House for the President's signature. On June 12, however, Mr. Truman upset the strategy. He vetoed the bill on the grounds that it destroyed the policy of regulated competition and gave the carriers monopoly powers without providing adequate safeguards for the public interest. Since this bill was introduced to prevent the trial of charges already before the courts, Mr. Truman's veto, entirely apart from the intrinsic merits of the case, seems a prudent exercise of the executive power. If legislation of this type is needed to avoid ruinous competition in transportation, then, by all means, let us have it. But first let us hear what the courts say about railway behavior under existing law.

Puerto Rico's Catholic university

When, on May 2, in a joint pastoral letter, the Bishops of San Juan and Ponce formally announced the organization of a Catholic university, popular approval of the step was immediately evident. Among other comments, the daily, *El Mundo*, declared editorially: "The foundation of St. Mary's University will bring back the enormous experience of the Church into higher education in Puerto Rico. . . . The establishment of this new institution is going to bring greater variety and competence into the field of university instruction on our island." The editorial went on to remark that the presence of an additional university creates healthy competition which will have its effect upon the culture and progress of the country. In their pastoral, the bishops recall how most of Europe's great centers of learning arose under Catholic auspices. They hold up Newman's *Idea of a University* as a guiding light. Later announcements indicate

that they hope, by giving religion and theology the proper place in the university organization, to challenge secularism effectively on the intellectual front. With the first school to start in September, the university's formation at this time has special import. Both civic and religious leaders are gravely concerned about the moral level of the country, a problem that has been made worse by intolerable socio-economic conditions. Neither the need for religious formation on a higher level nor the country's social and cultural problems could any longer be ignored by Catholics. Both secularism in education and a laissez-faire attitude on the part of some educated Catholics have contributed to the sorry conditions. Now, in a bold step, the island's two bishops are pushing a project which can become an influential force in the subsequent development of Puerto Rico. They look for an informed and articulate Catholic leadership, capable of taking its place in public affairs and in the country's cultural life. For this a university center is essential.

Soviet strategy and tactics

A temporary lull in the "cold war" waged by the Soviet Union against the West gives some of our less politically mature citizens a chance to maintain that not all is bad about Stalin. This serves to underline once again the ever-present danger that one or more of the Western Powers may be tempted to negotiate an illusory and cynical "peace" at the expense of high moral principle. We should at this time recall the facts. Events involving the rapid elimination of freedom in Finland, Czechoslovakia or North Korea remind us of the underlying tragedy. Vanished are all the conservative, agrarian, liberal and free socialist parties in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Finland. The Catholic Church in Western Ukraine has been brutally destroyed; now the same fate awaits the Orthodox Church in the Balkans, unless it submits to the Politburo. Soviet Russia's strategy, calling for world communist conquest, has no scruples or respite. All vestiges of individual and political freedom, as known in the West, must disappear. But in the program of destruction the Russians prove to be master tacticians. For Soviet Russia and her agents perform their work so well that much of the democratic world is at a loss to appreciate the real nature of Soviet totalitarianism. Soviet agents succeed even in depriving victims of communist tyranny of the sympathy of free men outside the Russian empire. For example, Sydney Gruson reports from Warsaw (*New York Times*, June 13, 1948) that the Church [Catholic] and the underground are the only factors opposing the Soviets. The underground, he reports, spreads across Eastern Europe to Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic republics. "However," he writes, "communist charges that it is based on pro-German and fascist elements which sided with the Nazis, seem to be true, and it cannot be doubted that this prevents it from having a general appeal." The mere fact that all these countries had formidable resistance movements against the Nazis would seem to disprove the communist allegation. Of the deeper meaning of opposition behind the iron curtain Soviet tacticians do not speak.

Washington Front

Before signing off for the summer, I feel that I owe some response to a confrère who took exception some time ago to an assertion of mine that the purpose of the Sherman Anti-trust Act "was to make compulsory the laissez-faire doctrine of free competition." He also objects to my conclusion that by making competition compulsory we have by law made monopoly inevitable. "The Sherman Act," he says, "may be ineffective; its administration has certainly been ineffective; a case can be made out for discarding it and favoring monopolies, with the hope of regulating them. But its purpose is not to make compulsory the laissez-faire doctrine of free competition." He remarks that Pius XI favored free competition.

In its article on "Trusts," the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, speaking of the Sherman Act, says: "Clearly the law was inspired by the predatory competitive tactics of the great trusts, and its primary purpose was the maintenance of the competitive system in industry." As a matter of fact, the law had a double purpose, still discernible in its very vague wording. It hoped to curb monopoly and at the same time to make free competition the guiding principle of industry. Historically, it was definitely inspired by the prevailing economic liberalism

of its age, manifested in a doctrine we frequently refer to as "laissez-faire."

This observer has always held that these two purposes are mutually incompatible, that one defeats the other. The distinction between free competition and limitless free competition which my correspondent makes seems to me to be unrealistic, tenable perhaps in theory, but never actually existing in practice. Hence it seems to me that one is justified in arguing that any free competition always tends to monopoly. In the free market, one enterpriser will win, the other will lose, since the market is finite. The loser will go bankrupt or be absorbed by the winner. The facts seem to bear this out.

As for Pius XI's position on the matter, it seems to me that while it may be said that he did not condemn free competition, he very definitely objected to making it the ruling principle of industry. In fact, that constitutes one of his major objections to our economy, and precisely because, when it is the ruling principle, it does, among other things, lead to monopoly. The same idea is implicit in his offered alternative, the re-establishment of the "orders" or vocational groups.

To return to the Sherman Act, I do not share my correspondent's apparent optimism that a better administration of it would actually curb monopolistic practices. The final say on that law has been with the courts, and they have taken the vague wording of it and made it a mass of conflicting rulings. This also seems to me to be in the nature of the case.

WILFRID PARSONS

Underscorings

When the Catholic Theological Society of America convenes in Chicago, June 28-30, for its third annual convention, two topics will be thoroughly explored: the issue of the relation of Church and State, and the problem of industrial relations in a democracy.

► The Court of Appeals, New York State's highest tribunal, has unanimously upheld a decision of the lower courts dismissing a suit which challenged the constitutionality of a State grant of \$128,000 to Canisius College, Buffalo, toward renovating an abandoned hospital to provide classroom space for veterans. Similar grants had been allotted to other non-public as well as public colleges in New York State.

► On the eve of his departure to attend the third international Conference of Christians and Jews at Fribourg, Switzerland, July 21-30 (under the sponsorship of the Most Reverend François Charrière, Bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg), Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, formerly president of Vassar College told the press:

While Protestants like myself are perfectly free to reject the claims and doctrines of the Catholic Church . . . it is not in the interests of American unity, nor in harmony with American principles of fair play, to say that anyone who does accept the Catholic

position must be a paranoiac or to imply that those religious leaders who are freely accepted by our millions of fellow citizens of the Catholic faith are deliberately bent on political mischief and the subversion of our basic American institutions.

Perhaps Dr. MacCracken was drawing a bead at Protestants and Others United.

► American Catholic youth lost a staunch friend through the death, on June 14, of Dr. Nelson Hume, a founder and the headmaster of the Canterbury School for boys at New Milford, Conn. Dr. Hume, who was awarded the Knighthood of St. Gregory the Great by Pope Pius XI in 1938, was an outstanding example of what an idealistic but practical-minded Catholic layman can accomplish in the field of secondary education, through the enlightened knowledge of his religion, the force of his personality, and a complete identification with his work. Along with the more rigorous tasks of a schoolmaster's profession, Dr. Hume incorporated, as it were, the delightful traits of his own Christian family life into the wider family of the boys to whom he was a companion and father. Our country can use more of this type in its schools.

► Another great loss, this time incurred by the cause of Catholic literature, came with the recent death of Rev. Andrew J. Kelly, of Hartford, Conn. For years the Catholic Lending Library of that city, directed by Fr. Kelly, was a model of its kind, and a great Catholic cultural influence in the community.

A. P. F.

Editorials

Labor and foreign affairs

The appointment of several labor men to high positions in the Economic Cooperation Administration is a welcome, though not surprising, indication that liberal-minded Paul Hoffman, ECA administrator, understands the importance of trade unions in the economies of Western Europe. Without their support—which the Kremlin, through its fifth columnists, is doing its utmost to withhold—the recovery of the Marshall Plan nations cannot be accomplished. The designation of Boris Shiskin, AFL economist, to head the labor division of ECA's European activities; of Clinton Golden of the CIO; and Bert Jewel, international representative of the Railway Labor Executives Association, to Mr. Hoffman's Washington advisory staff, provides a devastating rebuttal to communist charges that the Marshall Plan is a big-business plot to control the industry of Europe.

It would be pleasant to record that the unity of outlook which the AFL and the CIO have achieved on the Marshall Plan prevails also on other international questions. But this, unfortunately, is not true. A recent exchange of letters between President Philip Murray of the CIO and Matthew Woll of the AFL reveals that the two groups are as far apart as ever on the subject of the World Federation of Trade Unions. So far as the AFL is concerned, association with the state-dominated unions of Soviet Russia is impossible. According to Mr. Woll, it paralyzes the capacity of free trade unions "for action in behalf of the cause of democracy and trade unionism the world over." This last phrase was quoted from Mr. Murray, who wrote that the AFL, by joining the WFTU, would strengthen the democratic forces in that organization and help trade unionism everywhere. Thus the official positions remain contradictory and unchanged, although the growing sentiment in the CIO for a break with the WFTU, as was evident at the recent convention of the Textile Workers, was nowhere reflected in Mr. Murray's letter.

The split on the international scene was further emphasized by the first meeting, on June 13 at San Francisco, of the executive committee of the newly formed Inter-American Confederation of Workers (CIT). This is the organization which the AFL sponsored last year in opposition to the Latin-American Confederation of Workers (CTAL), with which the CIO maintains fraternal relations. In its monthly bulletin for June, CIO attacked CTAL as a tool of the Communists, and supported its charges with quotations from resolutions passed at the last CTAL convention. There is no doubt that CTAL is playing the Soviet game by fomenting suspicion and hatred of the United States throughout Latin America.

All this must be increasingly embarrassing to CIO

leaders who are engaged, at the moment, in a sharp struggle with their communist-dominated affiliates over the Marshall Plan and the communist-supported third-party movement. To offer a logical justification under the circumstances for continued membership in the WFTU and friendship with CTAL is, indeed, difficult. One suspects that if the CIO and AFL were united organically, there would be on international labor questions no difference of opinion whatsoever between Messrs. Murray and Woll. Is it necessary to point the moral?

Detroit's citizen-priest

On June 7 a distinguished group of some two hundred citizens of Detroit and its environs celebrated the Gabriel Richard Sesquicentennial in the form of a civic banquet at the Book-Cadillac Hotel. There Mayor Van Antwerp recalled that Père Richard, S.S., had officiated at the marriage of his grandfather; and tributes were paid to the memory of their French émigré priest.

The public acclaim with which Detroit is now honoring Gabriel Richard has been gathering momentum ever since Msgr. Edward J. Hickey, nearly fifteen years ago, set about the task of bringing into proper focus the civic achievements of this truly remarkable son of France and citizen of early Detroit. Even today his real stature is concealed in out-of-the-way documents; but enough information has been dug up to warrant the prediction that the name of Richard will bulk larger and larger in the history of the Midwest as the evidence is uncovered—and it surely will be—of the role he played in transforming a frontier post into a center of civilization.

Richard came to Detroit in 1798, two years after the town had become American, and after he himself had spent six years in missionary work at Kaskaskia in the Illinois country. In Detroit he became pastor of St. Anne's Parish, where he lies buried. At the request of his Protestant fellow citizens, who lacked a permanent minister much of the time Richard was in Detroit, he gave them weekly instructions on Christian living in the English language. The Protestants of Detroit today revere his memory.

The recitation of his civic and religious accomplishments is indeed impressive. In 1809 he set up the Richard Press, from which poured books in both French and English, various proclamations and public notices, and Detroit's first newspaper, though only one issue, for August 31, 1809, is known to have appeared. He built schools of almost every type: for young women, who themselves undertook the teaching of children; for seminarians; for Indians. He pioneered in commercial and technical schooling and was one of the three founders of the University of Michigan.

But his role as a civic leader carried him far beyond the scope of his religious and educational work. When fire destroyed the town on June 11, 1805, the Governor of the Territory put Richard in charge of relief work. When the fort surrendered to the British in the War of 1812, Richard rallied his French flock by refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the British King: "I have taken one oath to support the Constitution of the United States," he boldly replied, "and I cannot take another. Do with me what you please." As early as 1805 he was serving his adopted country as chaplain of the local militia.

Richard, furthermore, took an active part in fostering the library and hospitals, and became a founding member of the Detroit Historical Society. Frequently he acted as chaplain of the Territorial Legislature. Indeed, he was even elected to serve in the Congress of the United States as a Territorial Delegate from Michigan for the term of 1823-25, the only Catholic priest who has ever served in our National Legislature. His principal concern in Congress was to have money appropriated for a road between Detroit and Chicago. The bill was passed in 1825.

Detroit has dedicated two public elementary schools in the name of Gabriel Richard, and in 1936 the city created Gabriel Richard Park overlooking the Detroit River at Belle Isle Bridge, where a statue of Richard, paid for by popular subscription, now stands. We can argue and debate without end the theories which should regulate the role of religion in American democracy. But we cannot undo our history.

Michael and Anne

Last fall a group of St. Louis Catholics, outraged that their Archbishop saw no reason why color should keep a child from his parish school, proposed to seek an injunction against such irreverence toward the sanctity of white supremacy. The discovery that they would automatically incur the penalty of excommunication—exclusion from the sacraments and the fruits of the faith—for attempting to make their spiritual shepherd answerable to civil authority in the exercise of his religious rule promptly deterred them. American liberals hailed the action of Archbishop Ritter as a strong affirmation of democratic ideals; the Council Against Intolerance in America presented him with the Thomas Jefferson Award for Advancement of Democracy. But the same liberals were disturbed. Did not the menacing excommunication constitute an invasion of the individual's right of liberty of speech and of freedom of thought? The knowledgeable Leftist, Max Lerner, extricated Claire Booth Luce when a questioner made that objection during a radio discussion program. Mr. Lerner saw no difficulty. When you freely join a club, he explained, you agree to abide by the ground rules.

Last week, as the climax of a Graustark romance, Michael, the last king of Rumania, and Anne of Bourbon-Parma were married in the royal palace at Athens. Before the radiophotos of the happy couple appeared to thrill the imagination of shopgirls, the Vatican announced

with seeming brusqueness that, despite the solemnity of the ceremony, no marriage had taken place and Anne had incurred excommunication. The marriage of a Catholic requires the presence of an authorized priest (except in extraordinary circumstances when none would be available). To obtain the dispensation, reluctantly granted, for a mixed marriage, certain assurances, as Michael discovered, must be given. Not merely must the faith of the Catholic partner be secured, but guarantees of the Catholic upbringing of the children must be made. Neither the personal intercession of the Queen Mothers, the political possibilities of the alliance, nor the attractiveness of the young couple could avail against the claims of the ideals of Christian marriage.

But the issue runs deeper than any mere mechanics of ecclesiastical administration. No discrimination against the Orthodox Church, much less any impugning of the priesthood of the majestic Archbishop Damaskinos, was intended. Should Anne, as a Catholic, have sought to marry a divorced member of the Archbishop's flock, she would have discovered that the Church held that prior marriage to be a sacrament, binding for life.

The Catholic grows in grace within the spiritual soil of the sacramental system Christ established and entrusted to his Church. And the Church—Christ's abiding presence in humanity—properly insists that the social character of marriage demands respect for certain specified safeguards. Among the social consequences of marriage are children, who are heirs of heaven—be they heirs of the kingdom of Rumania or no. Not for a Balkan crown—nor for an American industrial empire—might Anne's children be disinherited of their Catholic citizenship, their place among the princely people, the royal priesthood of the mystical body. Thus it was no committee of ecclesiastical bureaucrats, but an anxious Mother thinking primarily of the future child and its precious destiny that voiced its solemn disapproval of Anne's lack of love of her children to be.

Battle for Polish youth

"Do not be scandalized by materialism," write the Polish bishops in their pastoral to youth on Trinity Sunday:

Respect the good will of those persons in the materialist ranks who sincerely work for a better tomorrow for the working classes. But remember that those dear masses need not only bread, which satisfies the body, but also bread for which the spirit yearns.

From those few lines can be gathered the tragedy which today confronts the Polish Church. It is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the materialism which we know to be inseparable from the communist system.

In a valiant effort to keep men's souls open to spiritual influences, the Polish hierarchy finds itself labeled by a hostile government as the enemy of progress. Hence the logic of the moving pastoral when it emphasizes that the validity of man's advance is ultimately judged by eternal norms. While men must labor for betterment of temporal conditions, it cannot be at the expense of the spirit. Materialism does violence to man's nature, and progress

without God is illusory. But communist efforts to hinder the Polish Church from reaffirming man's spiritual destiny are very real, particularly in relation to work for youth.

As elsewhere within the Soviet sphere of influence, the assault upon youth has been carefully planned and executed. Presently, the battleground is the school and university. The Stalinist representatives intend to use that ground to win the rising generation to materialist standards. Accordingly they have multiplied the schools and faculties, with the objective of spreading their ideas more quickly. They have controlled the textbooks and supervised teachers and professors whose loyalty to Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine is suspect. The universities are flooded with students already indoctrinated in party schools, and youth organizations are communist controlled. The battle for the mind and heart of youth is on.

So far, the Soviet policy-makers have avoided a head-on clash with the Church. They have been well aware of the deep roots of Polish religious tradition. But now the Catholic leadership fully expects an intensification of the ruthless drive to control the whole of human life.

Today the young people of Poland find it necessary to make "far-reaching decisions"; to declare themselves prematurely "on matters regarding which old and experienced men give their judgment cautiously." In short, they are asked to defend their faith, courageously, in the face of an organized assault by prophets of a materialism which "does not recognize God's commandments, eternal moral laws, Christian ethics, nor, in general, a constant moral norm." This materialism "professes the cult of the temporal, enjoyment of the senses, struggle for the conditions of life, hatred." For such a battle strong souls, fortified by the sacraments and free from that spiritual blindness impurity generates, are manifestly necessary.

Knowing full well that what they ask borders on the heroic, their spiritual leaders urge Polish youth to rise to the occasion, assured that God stands beside them in the fight. They need not be scandalized by materialism, but rather should they use the present occasion to carry the truths of their faith into every aspect of life in their struggling country—and thereby win those of good will who have been tinged by materialism.

A momentous decision

Amid all the furor stirred up by the House action to curtail funds for European Recovery, a Senate resolution was quietly passed and sent on to the President. It did not engender much editorial comment throughout the nation, despite the facts that it is one of the most significant advances in our international thinking, that it wipes out a great deal of traditional American fear of "entangling alliances," that it is the inevitable and logical conclusion of our policy of aid and reconstruction and that it advances a definite step further the highly desirable goal of a federated Europe and a truly united world.

That is a great deal to credit to a simple Senate resolution passed with little fanfare; but historians, we think, will find all the claims justified. On June 11, under the

leadership of Senator Vandenberg, the Senate proclaimed by a vote of 64 to 4 "a high and solemn policy committing the United States to the principle of military aid to defensive alliances formed among the world's free governments." The resolution, which does not have to go to the House for any action, was forwarded to the President as a simple advisement of the Senate's views. A bill before the House includes this Vandenberg plan, but it is doubtful if it will be acted on before adjournment.

What brought about this momentous decision? In the face of Russian lack of cooperation, the United States was faced with three courses of action, according to the acute analysis of James Reston, of the *New York Times*. The first was simply to pull out of Europe and retreat into isolationism; the second was to embark on a series of strict treaty-alliances by which we would have dominated Europe; the third was to "associate" ourselves with those nations whose security bulwarks ours, without, however, tying our own hands. The Senate decision adopts the third course, and wisely, for isolationism is unthinkable in today's world, and domination is abhorrent to a community of free nations.

It is paramount to note that the Senate vote neither jettisons the United Nations nor imperils our constitutional processes. The UN Charter provides for regional agreements for aid and defense; such military assistance as may be deemed necessary can be given in each and every case only with the approval of Congress, and it will not be extended until nations needing it have shown the willingness and ability to help themselves.

Our foreign policy has now advanced to the position of bolstering economic aid by a solemn determination to come forward with military assistance when and if it is necessary to free nations whose continued liberty is vital to our own. Thus the bolstered Marshall Plan holds out a twofold hope to the free nations of Europe, a breathing-spell in their fear of imminent Russian incursions.

But perhaps more important, if less immediate, is the impetus the Senate decision gives to the consolidation of Western Europe. The ground-swell toward economic unification sweeps on; Benelux solidarity, the projected customs union between Italy and France are two instances; but more and more the nations approach the shining headlands of political federation. The Five-Nation pact is already a reality and, with this incentive from United States policy, all the sixteen Marshall Plan countries will inevitably reach a clearer realization of their common interests and destinies.

The deep significance of the Senate resolution may be estimated by what Mr. Vandenberg estimates it has cost him. Though he was referring to his stand against House Republicans on the cuts in aid appropriations when he said that he had made enemies of too many ever to win the Republican Presidential nomination, it can safely be said that his entire anti-isolation stand in foreign policy has gained him his party foes.

We do not know what Mr. Vandenberg's ambitions may have been, but the high statesmanship that carried through this Senate resolution might well be a challenge to all candidates. It is a rallying tocsin to the free world.

Negative and positive reaction

Raymond Jouve

Father Raymond Jouve, S.J., Editor-Manager of the French magazine *Etudes* and Secretary General of the *Syndicat de la Presse Périodique* (association of periodical publications) has been spending a few months with the *AMERICA* staff, observing conditions and problems in the United States.

In the June 5 issue of *AMERICA* a comment on the new Italian cabinet concluded with these words: "De Gasperi obviously knows what many an American liberal (and shall we whisper, many an American Catholic?) does not: that it is not enough to be *against* communism; one must be *for* something, and the thing to be for most is a positive, Christian social program."

Not only a positive social program, I would say, but a positive Christianity. This is a matter which, I believe, deserves the utmost attention from every Catholic today, especially from those who are in positions of leadership and have thus a responsibility towards other Catholics.

The capital issue of our time is the opposition between the Eastern and Western blocs. Not a day elapses without some allusion to that splitting of our world in two. Most people consider this an evil, but a necessary evil, and take it too easily for granted. But this splitting of one world of human beings is to be regretted and, if possible, healed.

What is the Catholic approach to this new situation, which has directly issued from World War II? What is it, and what should it be?

Too many Catholics today are concerned only with opposition to the forces against us. Too many see all the evil on one side and all the good on the other, and simply take a negative attitude of denunciation toward the opposite bloc, thus stiffening it in its opposition.

It is true that an old tradition, the roots of which may be found in certain passages of the gospel—such as the parable of the sheep and the goats, or of Lazarus and Dives, as well as the treatise of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (on the two cities, the city of God and the city of Satan)—seems to give those Christians some support in their attitudes. But, apart from other passages, also in the gospel—the good Samaritan, for instance, and the parable of the wheat and the cockle—it is not likely that such a frame of mind can ever promote the Kingdom of God. That Kingdom is not a closed corporation, whose membership is established once and for all; it is a Kingdom that seeks out the lost—sinners, prostitutes and those other sheep for whom the Good Shepherd looks outside the fold.

Enough has been said officially against atheistic communism. The Popes have condemned it several times, and recent utterances of Pope Pius XII still remain in every memory. Other refutations of Marxist doctrine are numerous. All these condemnations had to be made. But Christianity cannot be fostered on lines merely negative. No condemnation, no refutation is sufficient to develop the real content of Christianity. We cannot reduce our religion to a defense complex or to opposition. We cannot ignore those outside; they, too, are candidates for the Kingdom.

This negative reaction is all the more dangerous since we now see it invading all Christian and democratic countries, where it favors more or less the political positions of the peoples of those countries. Church and State thus seem in perfect harmony, pursuing the same ends.

That, precisely, is the danger. The purpose of the State and the purpose of the Church are different. Since it is the function of the State to guard and promote the security, the internal order and the common welfare of the country, it becomes its duty to decree measures against parties that are directly dangerous to its welfare and effective operation, and in such cases a government must exercise repression, especially in those countries in which a Communist Party is but a Trojan horse sent by another country to promote trouble and revolution, without even the excuse of an idealistic mystique. But the Church must guard and promote the spiritual welfare of her children and, at the same time, look toward the spiritual conquest of the outsiders, the opponents, the critics. The Church is universal, and the State is not.

Mere negative opposition dries up the sources of spiritual energy, enervates the apostolic imagination, kills invention and vision. It does not call for much intelligence to be a good "anti." And by living in that false calm which seclusion engenders, the faithful slowly cut themselves off from the current of life that runs outside their door, a current which may have in its waters many impurities but which is in fact the stream in which the greater part of humanity is merged. The Church on earth



is militant—although it should by no means be military.

To be a possessor of the final answer to the world's problems is not sufficient excuse for living apart from and merely opposed to those problems. Truth loses its breadth and efficacy when it does not actively face other truths, even though these others be only partial truths. Truth must be fostered and enriched by outside contacts, not only by internal reflection. It must be spread through positive action.

Blind opposition, stubborn passivity breed hatred in the pattern of daily life, all the more easily in that these tactics often seem lawful. Too often has the old slogan, "the rights of truth," been abused. How many crimes have been committed in the name of truth, as in the name of liberty, God only knows.

Another dangerous result of negative isolation is the gradual transformation of the community into a party,

a partisan group, whose sole aim is rather to defeat the opposition than to present a positive program. The vast horizon of Christianity narrows to a dangerous point. We forget that every Christian must first of all be a witness, not a partisan.

In addition to the danger of deviation from the real aim of Christianity, the "anti" attitude does not produce even the results it is supposed to produce. Fear—stimulated by talks and writing and other opposition activity—may bring a few souls into our camp, people who are afraid rather than convinced, men of mediocre spirit. In the long run, however, the reaction to this attitude will prove quite sterile.

We must never forget—and this is the law of history—that neither talk nor force has ever succeeded in stemming a spiritual movement of any kind, whether good or bad. Opposition of this kind is the best way to produce martyrs and witnesses. It actually represents a handicap to one's position, rather than the advantage that many Christians consider it. The danger today is great that we shall gradually lose the spirit of our religion, though we seem to keep to the letter. The situation is that found in the parable of the talent hidden in the ground; it is the history of Pharisaism, of ritualism, integrism, esotericism—the theory of the "happy few."

We must recognize the need, in the so-called "Christian bloc," of a positive reaction—not the physical gesture of reaching out and grasping hands, but a sincere effort to understand what is being sought, more or less awkwardly, more or less persistently, behind this or that iron curtain. The spark of faith in what is right that we find there we will acknowledge, integrate and finally baptize.

The actual test is not a battle of material forces—such military measures must be assumed by and left to the prudence of the state—but a trial of two faiths. Democracy and Christianity will not prevail over atheistic communism unless they develop a stronger faith than the Marxian, along the same lines and on the same ground. This can result only if our Christian community does not exclude from its protection and interest the welfare of all life, all men, the world.

Let us avoid—and this time on a world scale—the error of French Catholics in 1848. Because they ignored the intellectual and social ferment of that period, refused to acknowledge the strong aspirations and the orientation of the working class and the masses, they sought merely to "conserve," adopted an attitude of immobile resistance, or even of ignorance, which cut the Church off from the people of France and loosed a stream of anti-clericalism and religious hatred in France and all over the world.

Had the French Catholics been more open-minded, more positively aware of the vital currents flowing beneath the popular social movement; had they recognized under the excesses the truly human and personal aspirations, they would have spared the Church the period of waiting for the social encyclicals and the strenuous work, only now beginning, of rewinning what had been lost—the soul of the working class. This meant—and we must not forget it—not only lost time but lost souls.

Today, even more than in 1848, and not merely in one nation but throughout the world, humanity as a whole is looking for its destiny, its way, its soul, faced as it is with new material problems.

The first and paramount duty of the Christian is to help humanity find the goal of this search. He needs therefore to be, or to become, more sensitive in the understanding and more absorbed with the solution of the human problems at hand and ahead, as Christ has shown us how to be.

The Christian can match, and win over, the Marxist only if, in the light of his faith, he feels the oneness of the world, its miseries, its sufferings and problems; but also the greatnesses, the power and aspirations of a world of which he must never forget he is a part. And all this he must feel more than the Marxist.

It is not excommunication from the Christian body but baptism into the faith on the basis of intelligent and understanding acceptance that the world needs today.

All signs point to the fact that our world is undergoing not only a crisis of evil but also a crisis of growth. Humanity will give itself, body and soul, not to those who have held themselves aloof from its anxieties and sufferings and dreams, but to those who have shown themselves capable of sharing, of interpreting, of sublimating human suffering and giving it the most meaning.

Confronted by this world cry of need—for the very opposition is essentially such a cry—the Christian must examine his conscience. Is he doing the work of hatred or of charity? Is he fostering a greater humanity?

Only if the Christian, on his part, moves the world to a greater concept and realization of true humanity will he move humanity to a greater charity. And that, on the whole, is the test he will face at the Last Judgment.

"Alternative to Serfdom"—II

Benjamin L. Masse

(Continued from last week)

THE KEYNESIAN BOMBSHELL

If we are in the midst of a process of change, if the free market, despite its remarkable organizing abilities, has been unable to form an economic community, if the field of "orthodox" economics must be broadened—all of which, we have seen, Professor J. M. Clark affirms in his *Alternative to Serfdom*—one is led inevitably to consider the late Lord Keynes. This the author does in a chapter which will please neither the Keynesians, who are inclined to be more dogmatic than the master, nor the "orthodox," who even now, twelve years after the *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, have scarcely recovered their scholarly equilibrium.

Dr. Clark freely concedes the genius of the British economist. Keynes, he says, "broke a taboo of more than a century's standing and lifted the tabooed area of in-

quiry out of the 'intellectual underworld' to a place commanding the best efforts of the best minds in the field."

He established the hypothesis that production can be limited by a deficiency of total demand—something the established dogma denied—and that depression and underemployment may be due to something other than merely producing the wrong things at the wrong prices or the wrong wage-rates, or both. And he made respectable the hypothesis that chronic underemployment can exist as a result of market forces and not merely as an aberration that market forces are always automatically and effectively acting to eliminate. The result was to shift the focus of theoretical economic inquiry from prices and the allocation of resources between different products to the question of the total flow of spending, production and employment (p. 93).

In Say's law, according to which there can be no general overproduction of goods because supply of one thing is demand for others, Keynes punched gaping holes, and Ricardo he turned upside down. Most important of all, he gave hope that mass unemployment could be cured short of totalitarianism, by influencing the volume of spending in the various ways the state has at its disposal. In other words, Keynes pointed to an alternative to abandoning the market mechanism—he suggested governors that might keep the machine from stalling.

There are gaps, though, in the *General Theory*, which Keynes perhaps realized more clearly than do some of his more enthusiastic disciples. We are too close to the man for a definitive judgment, and a century from now a new generation of economists may think much less of his contribution than we do today. But whatever the limitations of the Keynesian formula, no one can question the enormous impact of his main idea: namely, in the words of Dr. Clark, "the possibility of limitation of production by demand, short of productive capacity."

Keynes raised two questions which are especially pertinent to the theme of *Alternative to Serfdom*. The first has to do with policies looking toward full and stable employment, which is one of the things people demand today of their economic system; the other is concerned with the economic groups which have replaced the individual as the paramount factor in the marketplace.

Impact on policy. For the man in the street, who is little interested in the rarefied controversies of economists, the easiest approach to the Keynesian revolution lies through its repercussions on policy. Heretofore, balancing the budget has been regarded as part of the cure for depressions. Keynes advocated just the opposite—deficit spending to stimulate production. When the economic machine is out of gear, the orthodox economic doctor probes relative adjustments of wages between different industries. Keynes placed the stress on total wage income. Wage deflation and reduced interest rates are other standard remedies for a sick economy. Keynes depreciated the ability of low interest rates to coax private investors to spend, and judged that labor's stubborn resistance to wage cuts was sounder economics than the theories popular in the schools. To the orthodox economist, the world obeys laws of economic equilibrium, and distortions tend to correct themselves. To the Keynesian,

distortions generate other distortions and must be consciously counteracted.

Amid all these contradictions, what is the policy-maker to do? "The simplest formula," suggests Dr. Clark, "is that Keynesian laws apply until we get full employment, and orthodox laws after that." In practice, however, the wisest course will be to consider each problem in the light of possibilities suggested by both laws. The decisions the policy-maker formulates will probably be found to exceed the limits of all simple formulas. What we want eventually, if such a thing is possible, is a synthesis of Keynes and his orthodox critics. Whether or not this is achieved, we are certainly going to tinker with the market mechanism to keep the machine running.

Organized groups. Skipping over the difficulty of reconciling discretionary government action in the economic sphere, which demands alert, speedy action, with our slow-moving Congress, we are confronted with the problem of organized groups.

The elements of that problem we have already seen. Individual action has been largely displaced by group action in the market, with the result that competition no longer furnishes checks and balances on self-interest. Having gained their power in a dog-eat-dog environment, how can the groups be expected to forego the full exercise of their economic strength? And if they proceed to act from self-interest alone, what will happen to carefully cultivated policies designed to benefit the economy as a whole? If group selfishness and rivalry defeat the program, the result will be anarchy. If the Government restrains them, we shall have coercion. In either case, we are on the "road to serfdom."

It is no answer to say: dissolve the groups. Even if we so desired, we cannot return to the individualism of the early nineteenth century. And we do not want this kind of individualism anyhow, since it is incompatible with creating the economic community which is our "alternative to serfdom." The solution is clear: we must bring "these groups together into a cooperating economic community." How to do this? That is the question.

MEANS TO THE GOAL

In the first place, it is necessary to agree on some minimum philosophy, or code of ethics. Rejecting all organized religions and philosophic systems as possible starting points—because in our society these are divisive factors—Dr. Clark offers the following:

Respect for the worth and dignity of men and their need and duty to work together in a society, contributing to the common enterprise and restraining impulses to aggression and exploitation—one's own as well as those of others (p. 124).

With this as a basis, the next step is to regulate the relations of the three factors which are the raw material of an economic community—state, market and organized groups—by defining the responsibilities of government, farmers, management and unions. Since this task exceeds the bounds of his present undertaking, the author concentrates on wage bargaining between labor and management, which he regards as the most crucial of our problems.

The respective actors in the drama of industrial relations are quasi-sovereignties whose relations to one another resemble somewhat the relations between states. Balance of power and enlightened self-interest, which includes the fear of reprisal, can be counted on to dispose the parties to use their strength responsibly. Of themselves, however, these are insufficient to guarantee a cooperative relationship. What is needed, in addition, is a "recognition that others' interests are entitled to respect in their own right." That this ideal is not utopian is proved by the fact that in some industries it has been realized already. Strong demand for labor and agricultural products, which would give all concerned a sense of security, would help to spread it throughout the economy. So would more knowledge of the economics of wage bargaining, by the rank and file as well as by union leaders. For political reasons, the latter are sometimes compelled to urge demands which they know to be unreasonable.

What is wanted, in sum—of labor and management, and of other groups as well—is a willingness to abide by collective decisions, to discipline and restrict the exercise of their liberties before the law steps in, to balance rights with duties, and to harness their power to social purposes. When all these things are realized, when we have "responsible individuals in responsible groups," we shall be an economic community.

AN APPRAISAL

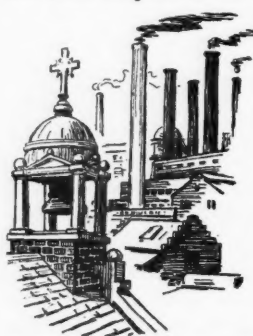
The importance of this book lies in its clear realization of a great failure of our democratic society, which is the failure to build an economic community. It will force serious-minded students to re-examine the popular belief that the pursuit of self-interest in a free market is at once the basis and guarantee of our political liberties. It will also contribute to freeing economics from the shackles of a too narrow orthodoxy. From another point of view, it will lend encouragement to all those who are seeking the middle way of a mixed economy between the extremes of deadening collectivism and irresponsible individualism.

But Dr. Clark has suggested approaches which he hopes other economists will follow; he has not provided answers. And this gives *Alternative to Serfdom* the character of an unfinished work, and leaves the reader unsatisfied. Worse still, the final chapter so far fails to fulfill the expectations raised in the earlier pages that the reader closes the book wondering whether, after all, there is much reason to hope.

The source of the difficulty, it seems to me, is the author's underestimation of the need of religion and its potentialities in reforming modern society. If we are ever to have an economic community, two conditions must be fulfilled. The first is a certain standard of moral behavior on the part of citizens, both as individuals and as members and leaders of economic groups. The second is a juridical order favoring the developing of an economic community. A great deal of evidence exists to show that neither objective can be achieved apart from religion. When the Father of our country, in his Farewell Address, emphasized the essential connection between religion and

ethics, he was merely bearing witness to the experience of the race. From what we have seen of nazi and communist attempts to build a system of ethics on atheism, there is no reason to abandon the traditional viewpoint. For men generally, the alternative to voluntary acceptance of moral imperatives based on belief in God is tyranny. After all, doesn't the state of the modern world pretty well explode the myth of the "good pagan"?

Similarly, you cannot have a juridical order which men will recognize freely unless that order is an application of accepted moral principles. It is true that serious and irreconcilable dogmatic differences exist among religious groups in this country, but these differences should not blind us to the large body of doctrine common to all. Catholics, Protestants and Jews share not only a belief in the same God, but they agree on a large part of that law which is called the "natural law." Before Dr. Clark despairs of the religious factor in modern life,



let him read the "Pattern for Peace," a statement of the moral principles pertinent to a just peace, which was signed by leaders of the Jewish, Protestant and Catholic faiths. Let him investigate other joint statements also, including one dealing with economic life. He will be surprised at the large area of agreement on social ques-

tions which prevails among what Pope Pius XII has called "men of good will."

To a Catholic familiar with the social doctrine of the Papacy, and with the literature it has inspired here and abroad, much that Dr. Clark has to say about the necessity of organized groups, the limitations of the market as a governing factor and the paramount need of an economic community will seem fairly elemental. But it is encouraging to see a highly respected scholar coming to conclusions on economic grounds which more than faintly resemble the recommendations of the late Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*. I am even tempted to suggest that a familiarity with that document would have given to Dr. Clark's stimulating work a precision in dealing with such key concepts as freedom and individual rights which it seems to me to lack.

For the leaders of our economic groups, *Alternative to Serfdom* is highly recommended. More and more, they are coming to see the impossibility of carrying over into a group economy the competitive practices of an earlier, individualistic age. In at least a half-dozen industries, strikes and lockouts have become anachronistic, with the result that compulsory arbitration is much more than a theoretical possibility. Dr. Clark's book, if it does no more, will emphasize the urgency of seeking an alternative.

Others might profitably read the book also, especially those innocent souls who believe that, from a Christian standpoint, everything is hunky-dory with American capitalism.

Goebbels and the Catholic Church

Arnold Lunn

The role of the Communists in the anti-nazi resistance movements has been so grossly exaggerated, and the part played by Catholics so steadily played down, that for this reason, if for no other, the *Goebbels Diaries* (Doubleday and Co. \$5.) should be in every Catholic school and library. Goebbels makes only passing mention of German Communists, who became most active after the defeat of the Nazis, but he was obsessed with the problem of Catholic opposition, whose "unrestrained propaganda against National Socialism" angered and dismayed him. His reactions to the Church were governed by two dominant considerations: 1) the danger of the persistent Catholic opposition, 2) the need to postpone a final showdown until the war had been won. The following are a few characteristic extracts:

The Catholic Church continues to act in a dastardly way. A number of pastoral letters have been laid before me which are so unrealistic and treacherous that nothing need be added to them. Nevertheless we shall not proceed against them. Let the "parsons" have their way; we'll present our bill to them after the war (p. 93).

Bishop Preysing of Berlin continues to criticize the German war leaders. . . . It is best not to touch on this theme, but rather to postpone it to the end of the war (p. 96).

It is simply disgusting how the Catholic Church is continuing its subversive activity in every way possible; now it is even extending its propaganda to Protestant children who have been evacuated from regions threatened by air raids. Next to the Jews, these politician-parsons are about the most loathsome riffraff we are still sheltering in the Reich (p. 146).

I have proposed to the Fuehrer that he should forbid German soldiers to visit the Pope. These visits have really become a public danger (p. 161).

I have received confidential information that the Pope has appealed to the Spanish bishops to ensure that in all circumstances Spain stays out of the war (p. 166).

The Dutch bishops have had an exceptionally insolent letter read from the pulpits, in which they incite the people to open opposition against the Reich Commissar's measures (p. 278).

The references to Franco are illuminating. As to whether Franco intended to enter the war, once he was certain that Germany was within sight of victory, is a question on which opinion will continue to be sharply divided, but it is a fact beyond dispute that he resisted various attempts on the part of the Axis to persuade him to declare war.

Franco is a bigoted churchgoer. . . . That's a nice revolutionary we placed on the throne! (p. 63.)

Germany and Italy were not mentioned in his speech [March 10, 1942]. Franco is only mediocre. One must not expect too much from him (p. 119).

Had he risked seizing Gibraltar at the time we suggested it, he would today be in an absolutely

secure position. He certainly can't claim that now (p. 253).

Goering especially blames Ribbentrop for failing to draw Spain over to our side. Franco, of course, is cowardly and irresolute, but German foreign policy ought nevertheless to have found a way to bring him into our camp (p. 267).

Above all, it was the fact that Franco was a "bigoted churchgoer" that stuck in Goebbels' throat. Goebbels was not brought up by the Jesuits, as has often been asserted by enemies of the Order; but he was brought up a Catholic, and perhaps for this very reason he had a more realistic understanding of the Catholic opposition to his regime than most of his colleagues. As Louis Lochner, the Editor of the diaries, remarks, in Catholic matters "he was an extreme realist when it came to his own health. When he had his violent kidney attack, he preferred to entrust his precious body to the care of Catholic nuns and nurses, spurning the much-advertised 'Brown Sisters' of the nazi regime" (p. 29).

In addition to the animus against the church, the Goebbels diaries indicate other aspects of nazism worth remembering in planning the new Europe. Although leftists have always tried to represent nazism as a conservative counter-revolution, it was nothing of the kind. There was little to choose between the national socialism of Germany and the national communism of Russia. Goebbels hated the groups that Stalin hates. He hated not only the Catholic Church, but kings, aristocrats, the old type of regular officer, and everything for which America stands. Mr. Lochner writes, "Goebbels announced with delight the new radical policy":

The Fuehrer does not want any more members of the nobility given positions of leadership in the Reich and the Party. . . . Men with close clerical or aristocratic connections will therefore no longer be considered for key positions. They will slowly be retired, and no new ones will be appointed.

He hated, also, the old type of German general, and was particularly incensed by the support they gave the letter of Moelders, No. 1 ace of the *Luftwaffe*. An ardent Catholic, Moelders resisted violently when the Nazis seized a convent in which his sister was a nun. The famous letter, written to his confessor, severely criticized the Government. Moelders died in an airplane accident. "The letter," writes Goebbels, "was widely distributed in Vienna by officers of the *Wehrmacht*. Among others, General Streinius personally aided in the distribution . . . he had to admit that the letter was sent to him by Field Marshal General von Mackensen" (p. 125).

The references to Americans and Canadians are a mixture of hatred and the envy which finds expression in contemptuous insults:

It drives one mad to think that some Canadian boor, who probably can't even find Europe on the globe, flies here from a country glutted with natural resources which his people don't know how to exploit, to bombard a continent with a crowded population. Let's hope we soon deliver the proper reply (p. 270).

We must admit, however, that, as far as Russia is concerned, Dr. Goebbels showed far more prescience than did the Allies.

Literature & Art

Ivan Mestrovic

Vera Gibian

For two whole months (April and May) of last year, the works of Ivan Mestrovic were exhibited in a one-man show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City—an honor accorded only the great in the world of art. To the majority of visitors, the first encounter with the Yugoslav's work was awe-inspiring; the impact of this sculpture of massive and simplified forms, this superb craftsmanship and monumental grandeur, has no parallel in modern art. The silent crowds, streaming through the Morgan Wing of the Museum, pausing long before the great central Pieta and the scenes from the life of Christ and the saints in wood relief, were paying the tribute of sincere admiration to the great Yugoslav master.

On the occasion of this exhibit, most of the general public learned for the first time that Ivan Mestrovic is now living in this country, an exile from communist-dominated Yugoslavia; and that the University of Syracuse, New York, has the honor of having on the staff of its School of Fine Arts the greatest sculptor of our time. To Syracuse University also belongs the distinction of publishing the superb volume of photographs of Mestrovic's work (*The Sculpture of Ivan Mestrovic*. Syracuse University Press, 1948).

The man whose world fame is uncontested and who, according to Rodin, is "the most remarkable phenomenon in sculpture since Michelangelo," began his life as a shepherd boy. Born in Urpolje in 1883, of Dalmatian peasant parents who lived on a small mountain farm in the village of Drzice near Drnis, Ivan Mestrovic, while tending his father's sheep amid the austere beauty of the Dalmatian mountains, as a young boy amused himself by carving in wood, later in stone, home utensils and spindles for his mother, small statuettes of national heroes, and crucifixes for his friends in the village. The impulse to express himself plastically, the obsession to create, came to him in earliest childhood. Mestrovic was not made a sculptor; he was born one.

The boy's amazing talent soon became known in the neighboring villages, and tourists visiting Dalmatia were often told about "the carving boy" of the mountains. One of these, a Viennese, was so impressed by Mestrovic—who at this time was working as an apprentice to a stone-carver in Spalato—that he recommended him to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and was able to secure his acceptance as a student. In Vienna, Mestrovic astonished his teachers and colleagues by his prodigious talent, and soon became the leader in the modern trends

in Viennese art. After some years of intensive study, he left Vienna to study in Rome and Paris. There he met Rodin, who gave the young artist his unfailing friendship and admiration.

At this time Mestrovic was already a prolific producer, exhibiting widely in most of the big cities of the Continent. Undisputed international fame, however, first came to him in 1911 in Rome, at the International Exhibition of Art, where he displayed his statues and the project for the Monument of Kossovo Pole. It was in Rome that the foremost art critics of Europe realized that a new luminary had burst on the artistic heavens, and that the almost unknown country of Dalmatia had given to the world an artist of undisputed genius.

With Mestrovic winning the attention of the world, the Yugoslav people—at that time not yet united—emerged from obscurity, and the world became aware for the first time of the heroic spirit of Serbia, of which Mestrovic's sculpture was truly the embodiment. The great past of Croatia and Serbia, the sufferings and hopes for revival among their people, spoke in the solemn language of Mestrovic's statues with a force rarely achieved in plastic art.

From childhood on, Mestrovic's imagination was shaped and peopled by the tragic figures of Serbia's history. In all Yugoslav communities, even one so remote as the little village of Mestrovic's youth, the heroic struggle of the Serbs against the Turks was a living memory. Gusla-players still went from house to house singing the old ballads of Kraljevic Mirko and lamenting the death of Tsar Lazar. Although Slovenes, Croats and Serbs were profoundly divided by religion, script and political opinions, they were united in their struggle against the Turks, and the treasures of their old folk songs became the heritage of all Yugoslavs.

In the early years of his creative life, Mestrovic was haunted by memory of the battle of Kossovo Pole. This battle, which in 1389 decided the fate of the ancient Serbian empire and ushered in the gloomy period of Turkish domination which turned into wilderness one of the most flourishing of medieval states, is the focal point of all Yugoslav history. Strangely enough, the imagination of the Yugoslavs did not dwell on their nation's past glory; it centered around this great defeat. Kossovo Pole, where the heroic knights Kraljevic Marko and Milos Obilic went down before the Turkish hordes of Sultan Murad I, became the core of Serbia's inner strength and its will to survive. Throughout the centuries of Turkish oppression, the Yugoslav people kept their hopes alive by remembering the heroic dead of Kossovo Pole.

In consequence, as one of his first plans, Mestrovic conceived the idea of erecting a monument on the battlefield of Kossovo Pole, a sort of Slav Valhalla, dedicated

to the dead warriors and their mourning widows. The great sculptor expressed in simple words the meaning of this monument and of all his works:

Feeling within me all the destiny of my race, and perceiving that therein I should be able to find the best material for my art—which felt a spontaneous impulse to express itself in its own language—I set to work at this task.

True to this inspiration, in all his works Mestrovic has immortalized Yugoslav types: the heroism of Yugoslav manhood, the noble beauty of the Dalmatian women, the grief-lined faces of old peasant mothers, marked by endurance, love and wisdom. This art, so deeply inspired by his national background, is far from being mere realism; its monumental simplification and stylization point to new meanings and break new artistic ground. Mestrovic is a modern artist in the fullest sense of the word. Like all great art, his cannot be classified. We can discover in it elements of the arts of Egypt, of Assyria, of Greece and Italy; but it is absolutely modern and absolutely original.

The deep Catholic tradition of Dalmatia was by no means second in Mestrovic's inspiration. It is no accident that the two first carvings from the shepherd boy's rustic knife were a crucifix and a statue of Kraljevic Marko. The dual inspiration of all his work is evident: love and consciousness of his race mingled with his Catholic faith.

Even in his early stages, Mestrovic's religious works—his Madonnas, the crucifixes, the statues of saints—were sacred art worthy of the name. In the beautiful old town of Cavtat, in South Dalmatia, is a chapel—Our Lady of Angels—built and decorated by Mestrovic in 1922 and dedicated to the dead of the Racic family. The memorial is a masterpiece of religious art, achieving in modern form the monumentality and deep spirituality we admire in the sacred sculptures of the Middle Ages. Mestrovic's latest religious work, the great marble Pieta, is a group of five figures of dramatic intensity and composition. This piece, which represents the greatest religious sculpture since Michelangelo, was finished during the war;

and in it the artist expressed all that his passionate nature could conceive of the sorrows of his own land, of war's agony.

Ivan Mestrovic has always been close to his country's political life. The First World War found him an exile from the Austrian monarchy, in which his pro-Slav attitude had made him suspect to the authorities. Immediately, at that time, he bent all his efforts toward the aid of those working for Yugoslav independence. The great success of his exhibit at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1915 gave considerable impetus to the Yugoslav cause. When, after the end of the First World War, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was established, Mestrovic dedicated his monument of Kossovo Pole to the Yugoslav Government and returned to his native land, feeling that all his dreams of the United Yugoslav States had come true. He remained in Yugoslavia, living only for his art.

During the Second World war, Mestrovic's vocal opposition to the quisling government of Pavelic and, later, his strong protest against nazism, so endangered his life that quick action was necessary to save him. Archbishop Stepinac, his great friend, with the aid of the Vatican, helped the sculptor to escape to Rome, and later to Switzerland. When Yugoslavia was again liberated in 1945, and the communist minority headed by Tito assumed power, the artist chose to remain in exile—his opposition to communism is as vocal and strong as was his opposition to nazism.

Visitors from Yugoslavia say that Mestrovic's name is now banned from Yugoslav school books, and that his works have disappeared from the state galleries. Tito himself is said to hate the very name of Mestrovic. All this evokes memories of the many dictators in history who have hated artists when these have dared to oppose them. The final outcome of the Tito-Mestrovic struggle will resemble all the tyrant vs. artist struggles of the centuries: Mestrovic's work will be an inspiration and a joy to humanity long after the name of Tito has become a shadowy symbol of a past terror.

Books

Enter national government

LINCOLN AND THE WAR GOVERNORS

By William B. Hesseltine. Knopf. 393p. \$4.50

The device of using Lincoln as a peg on which to hang a study of some particular aspect of the great crisis of 1860-1865 seems to appeal to many authors. We have seen foreign affairs, the patronage, the Army and other aspects of the struggle treated from this

angle, and now Dr. Hesseltine gives us a study of Federal-State relations during the war years.

Claiming that the Civil War was an economic and political revolution which changed the North as effectively as the South, the author traces the evolution of the old Union into a national government, shows how Lincoln personified that revolution and describes the confusion, disunity and bitterness engendered throughout the North by the clash of economic systems and constitutional ideas. The Republicans of 1860 are pictured as not a national political party but a group of State parties, each with the State Governor (an important personage in those days) as its titular head; and even at the State level it was

more a collection of diverse and disgruntled elements bound together by a common hatred than a common loyalty with a positive program.

In the eastern States, except Massachusetts, the new party was mostly controlled by old-line Whig conservatives who, while opposed to the extension of slavery, had no use for the Abolitionists. The western States, recognizing this, toned down their more radical outlook and united on Lincoln as their candidate for the election of 1860. The issues and tactics of the campaign varied from State to State and, while the Republicans were in most places a minority group, the three-way split among the Democrats enabled them to carry most of the northern States.

In the North, the reaction to secession was mixed, as the tradition of States Rights was also strong in that section; some favored it, many deplored it but felt nothing could be done about it. Only a few radicals, mostly Abolitionists, were in favor of coercion before the attack on Fort Sumter. This attack aroused the patriotism of the North, and the Governors enthusiastically set about raising troops and preparing to take the lead in directing the war, but Lincoln had already begun his quiet but effective campaign to strengthen the national government and break the power of the States.

He declared the new forces a national army, of which he was commander-in-chief; and, as the war went on, he more and more encroached on the traditional powers of the State governments, raising troops, interfering with elections, declaring martial law, suspending the writ of habeas corpus—all under plea of military necessity. As war-weariness increased and opposition spread, the Governors yielded the reality of power, realizing that they needed the help of the national government to remain in office. So, by 1865, Lincoln was the undisputed head of a

well-organized and disciplined national political party, the war was over, slavery abolished, States Rights dead and a strong national government had replaced the old Union.

Such is the story Dr. Hesseltine tells in a highly interesting and convincing way. The treatment of Governors Andrew of Massachusetts, Yates of Illinois and Seymour of New York, and of the Cameron-Curtin feud in Pennsylvania is especially noteworthy. So much space is allotted to the difficulties and controversies over raising troops and so little to the other activities of the Federal Government—coercive use of patronage, military interference with elections, arbitrary arrests of opponents and the like—that the story lacks balance and at times becomes obscure; also it would be less distracting if the footnotes were placed at the end of the volume, since they consist exclusively of references to authorities cited in the text. However, the author has given us an interesting and readable book which will help the student to get a clearer picture of the complex currents and tendencies which agitated the nation during that momentous struggle we call the Civil War.

F. J. GALLAGHER

Irrepressible conflict

THE DISRUPTION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

By Roy Franklin Nichols. Macmillan. 612p. \$7.50

This significant contribution to the great mass of historical literature on the Civil War is an original interpretation of the causes of the war and a thorough examination of American politics in the late 1850's.

The particular period under observation is approximately that from the nomination of Buchanan to the inauguration of Lincoln. The chief subject of discussion is the Democratic Party, the organization which had ruled the national government for most of the six decades of the nineteenth century. Professor Nichols dissects the Party's structure and activities under Buchanan, stressing carefully the forces of disruption at work on it. Some of the problems plaguing the Democrats also confronted other Administrations: patronage, lobbies, graft, the tariff and economic crisis. (The latter, incidentally—occurring in 1857—produced a controversy in rather modern terms between liberal government spending for recovery and a curtailment of expenses in keeping with reduced revenue.)

There were, however, numerous other problems, more serious because of their immediate importance or future consequence. Among these were the Kansas constitution, steamship subsidies, a transcontinental railroad, homesteads and the incessant question of slavery. Professor Nichols' analysis penetrates beyond the question of slavery vs. abolition, although he reaches his conclusions in terms of sectionalism. The basic sectional attitudes he identifies as "Southernism" and "New Englandism." Both of these presented their own brands of Americanism; and both, of course, were disrupting influences on American nationalism.

Professor Nichols sides with those who hold that the Civil War was an "irrepressible" conflict. The Democratic Party, with its source of strength in the South, could not withstand the pressure of opposition arising from new economic, social and even religious developments. The Party leaders refused to recognize the rapidity with which these changes were taking place; moreover, they refused to relinquish any power to meet the growing demands of the new forces.

As sentiment for secession became widespread in the South, an increasingly important motivation was fear—not of abolition and the loss of property, but rather fear of the loss of political power and prestige. The South preferred to revolt rather than lose its privileged political position.

Compromise and conciliation were impossible, Nichols maintains, because of "hyperemotionalism." This handicap arose from one of the features of democratic government—popular elections. Frequent elections came to be regarded as extremely bitter struggles for political authority. In such circumstances, the South would not surrender any of its confirmed intent to go its own way; the Republicans would not give up any of their newly gained influence. Restraints were impossible because few desired them.

This monumental account of political conflict combines a vivid picture of the leading personalities with a rich background of incidental but important details. The study is as noteworthy for its historical information as for its contemporary implications. 1948 is not 1860. But at a time when the Southern branch of the successors to Buchanan's party threatens to repeat the Charleston rupture, it is valuable to have this meticulous volume on an earlier crisis in American politics.

WILLIAM G. TYRRELL



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WITH LOVE, PETER

By Christopher Hollis. McMullen. 221p. \$2.50.

These letters from a brother to his twin sister are charming, witty and natural-sounding. The author has been ingenious in allowing the reader to construct characters and action from a one-way correspondence with the aid of an introduction, but the book could hardly be called a novel.

From this war-time correspondence, one learns that Peter's wife has been killed in a London bombing, that his children are growing up on the farm with the family of his sister Ruth, whose husband was killed at Calais. There are discussions of problems concerning the family, but these usually start off trains of thought on a wider scale, and these excursions into ideas are so good that one wishes the word "provocative" were not somewhat out-worn.

Peter ventures opinions on the virtues of country life, the education of the young, the merits of cricket, the misfortunes of government, the attitudes of soldiers, the justification of war. It is almost impossible to be in agreement with him all the time, but he is humorous and persuasive, worldly wise and humble—surely an ideal correspondent.

The references to religion may seem a bit confusing unless one realizes that Peter is not Mr. Hollis, not even his protagonist. Peter is in process of thinking his way through from a vaguely Leftist agnosticism to an acceptance of religion and spiritual values—and that is as far as it goes. Mr. Hollis cannot refrain from letting his fictional correspondent show an appreciation of Catholicism that is remarkably keen for someone so disinterested as Peter. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that there is not in this book a note similar to the one in an earlier book: "May I be allowed, then, to assure the reader that he must not assume that any political or religious opinions expressed by Peter Hartington-Smith are necessarily those of Christopher Hollis."

With echoes of Belloc and Chesterton, ideas are presented on religion, the machine age, rural life, birth control, classical education, government—almost all the topics claiming attention today. Christopher Hollis has the ability to write on serious things in a deft and challenging manner.

MARY STACK McNIFF

The Word

PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

16. *Mysteries*. Last week you broke off with a threat. As a parting shot, you said that the theologians had some strong words in store for me because I deprecated their habit of *explaining* mysteries which should be simply stated. Wasn't my view a sound and sensible one?

Neither sound nor sensible, but sheer nonsense. You cannot state any truth without trying to explain it. The very words you use are a kind of explanation. When you say, for instance, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, do you believe that is a bare statement? The Nestorians accepted the formula but were nevertheless heretics. I myself am the son of God. I shall ask you why, when you write about Jesus Christ as Son of God, you use a capital letter, and a small one when you describe an ordinary Christian. You have to explain why it is not only a trick of the printer. Statements without explanation are bunches of words devoid of any meaning.

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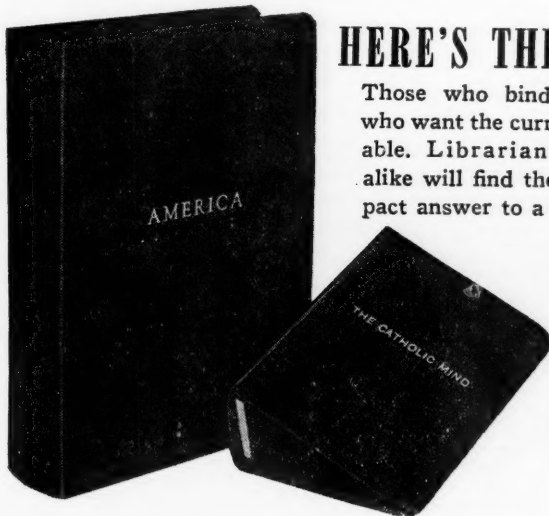
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America's June Book-Log

10

best-selling
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- 2 THE STORY OF THERESE NEUMAN
BRUCE. \$2.50 By Albert P. Schimberg
- 3 COMMUNISM AND THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WEST
BOBBS-MERRILL. \$2.50 By Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen
- 4 OUR LADY OF LIGHT
BRUCE. \$2.75 By Chanoine C. Barthas and Père G. Da Fonseca, S.J.
- 5 MICHAEL
LONGMANS. \$3 By Owen Francis Dudley
- 6 PARDON AND PEACE
SHEED & WARD. \$2.50 By Alfred Wilson, C.P.
- 7 CRUSADE OF FATIMA
KENEDY. \$1.25 By John De Marchi, I.M.C.
- 8 PRIEST-WORKMAN IN GERMANY
SHEED & WARD. \$2.50 By Henri Perrin, S.J.
- 9 THE GLORY OF THY PEOPLE
MACMILLAN. \$2 By M. Raphael Simon
- 10 HEART IN PILGRIMAGE
HARPER. \$2.75 and Msgr. Edward Roberts Moore

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Books of Lasting Value

Keating's Book House, of New Bedford, Mass., selects as its choice of the ten currently available books which have proved over the years to be of most lasting value, the books listed below. The roster of reporting stores gives the ten books that are popular month by month; this individual report spots books of permanent interest.

The asterisk indicates that the book has appeared in the Book-Log's monthly report.

1. Watch and Pray
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Gerald Vann, O.P.
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3. New Testament
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8. Damien the Leper
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10. The Splendor of the Rosary
Maizie Ward
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CLUB SELECTIONS FOR JUNE

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But the trouble is that when you start explaining you can't stop. Take, for instance, the mystery of the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Theologians set themselves to inquire about it, and have piled up wild explanations which, in fact, explain nothing and confuse the mind. I don't like this doctrinal fuss.

Because you have not yet grasped what faith properly is. In spite of your dislikes, let me explain a little. Many among the unbelievers, and quite a few among the faithful, entertain the queer idea that faith is only a test of good will, of submission to God. Mysteries, they think, are wrapped in darkness, only to render the acceptance of faith more difficult, and therefore more meritorious. Our proud reason must "humiliate" itself. And, at the end of the trial, we will be rewarded and gain glory. Faith, then, looks like a difficult sport, a sort of steeplechase, with obstacles purposely set in the way. But sound theology does not agree. If a wealthy and crazy millionaire said to me: "Father, I know you are much interested in rebuilding your Louvain library, burned down during the war. I am ready to help you; I'll give you \$100,000, but on one condition: you will walk a full block along the street on all fours, like a dog, and, after this performance, I will give you the money on the spot." Well, I dare say I wouldn't waver for one minute. Passers-by would laugh at me, thinking that this clergyman, crawling on the sidewalk, was entirely mad. I would let them laugh and, when I pocketed the money, I am sure many of them would storm my crazy millionaire and declare themselves ready to perform the same stupid feat for the same price. Now, do you think the purpose of God in proposing mysteries and rewarding the faithful is of the same pattern? Do you think it is His aim to upset our reason in order to humiliate it? Do you think the reward of faith is a kind of revenge? That here on earth we are told blindly to believe things we cannot understand? That would be unworthy of God and ignoble for man.

I confess that it requires some soothing explanation.

There we are. You see that sometimes explanations are not only useful but quite necessary. Well, theology will teach you one thing of paramount importance. Faith is not primarily a trial; faith is a "beginning," and it is therefore tender and difficult. It is a kind of dim light, like the rays of the stars, but it comes from heaven and it leads

to heaven. Little children must learn, believe and keep in their memories many things they will fully understand only in later life. I remember the last words of my dying mother when I was still a small boy. At the moment they were for me mysterious—full, in their simplicity, of peerless wisdom which I could not fathom. Through faith we take hold of the divine revelation, and faith is the beginning of the heavenly vision, says St. Augustine. The words of the faith are truly celestial. They convey to us something of the eternal life of God and His hidden purpose; and, since God became incarnate, it is impossible to keep apart the world in which He dwells and the world into which we are born. The old Fathers of the Church spoke of the trial of the faithful, but they spoke of the faith as a treasure. PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.

Theatre

BELATED BOUQUETS. *Billboard*, the venerable trade paper of the amusement industry, fixes April 30 as the terminal date of the 1947-48 season. The seventy-five productions presented during the preceding months included works of exceptional merit in every category of theatrical enterprise. There were at least a dozen hits, including five musicals; and another half-dozen plays deserved a larger popular response than they received from a public too often inclined to be frivolous. With a half-score of revivals of established classics, and several new imports from England, Eire and France augmenting the domestic product, the year presents a challenge to any recent season in both the quality and variety of its offerings.

Originating in the mind of a congenital dissenter, this column insists that *Command Decision*, by William Wister Haines, is the best play of the year. It is a story of spiritual travail suffered by a man who persists in his

devotion to duty, when he could have gained equal reward and greater peace of mind by pursuing a less agonizing course. While essentially a drama for the mentally and emotionally mature, the conflict of duty and desire, portrayed with a minimum of physical action, is so fierce that it satisfies the legions of thrill seekers, and the play is a hit in spite of its dignity.

While it is easy to name the most exciting play of the season, *The Winslow Boy* winning that distinction, *Mr. Roberts*, *Strange Bedfellows* and *Joy to the World* are rivals in a three-way photo-finish for the title of most hilarious play of the year. This column favors *Mr. Roberts*, because its humor is the natural efflorescence of the central story.

Allegro is supreme among the new musical hits. It is even superior to its predecessors on the Theatre Guild's calendar of great musicals, *Oklahoma* and *Carousel*, although lacking the former's rapid succession of sure-fire songs and the latter's torrent of melody. The success of the Guild's newest musical is mainly the result of close cooperation between Oscar Hammerstein II and Agnes De Mille, with the appreciable assistance of Richard Rodgers, who wrote the score. Mr. Hammerstein's story is wholly in the realm of social consciousness, and Miss De Mille's dances, some of her best, provide the story with atmosphere and emphasis.

Some of the minor successes and plays that failed contributed to the pleasure of playgoers who prefer creative sincerity to crowd appeal. *Me and Molly* is an unaffected and ingratiating drama of Jewish family life,

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and *This Time Tomorrow*, *Eastward in Eden* and *Our Lan* contained elements of contemplation or beauty.

The best of the revivals, of course, was Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. *The Respectful Prostitute* is the most popular of the imported plays, but *The Old Lady Says No*, fetched hitherto by the Dublin Gate Theatre, was more satisfying to the spiritually emancipated. While the departed season was not as rich in really great drama as one could imagine, it ought to do until a better year arrives.

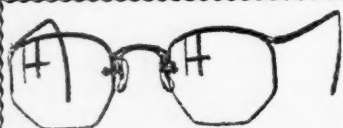
THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Films

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a trouper's family and how they weathered the storm is a disarmingly cheerful affair. When Albert (the great) Norwick (Charles Winninger) found himself permanently at liberty, he settled down with his wife (Fay Bainter) and youngsters to comfortable middle-class domesticity and an industrial job in New Jersey. Mrs. Norwick welcomed the stability of a home but Albert dreamed of the revival of the five-a-day circuit, and trained his family to join the act. Apparently his pipe-dream did not impair his efficiency at work, for by the time the children had grown up into Dan Dailey, Barbara Lawrence and Jane Nigh and had found that there were more interesting spare-time occupations than practising soft-shoe and juggling routines in the garage, he had become a minor executive. That he was ready to toss up his job for an uncertain return to the stage and that he expected his family to do likewise caused the first rift in an almost idyllic home life. The audience—which has been made to feel more sympathetic towards youthful ambition than paternal nostalgia—will find the manner in which the family is reunited quite satisfactory. In spite of its transparent story line, this is something amusing, unpretentious, well-played and surprisingly real—and wrapped in Technicolor for the further pleasure of the family. (20th Century-Fox)

ON AN ISLAND WITH YOU. The difficulty of improvising plots which give Esther Williams several opportunities to get in and out of a swimming pool seems to be increasing by geometric progression. This latest lame endeavor finds her as the star of a film troupe on location in Honolulu. In the movie within a movie she and Cyd Charisse play a pair of sarong-draped Polynesians vying for the affections of a marooned American flier with a Mexican accent (Ricardo Montalban). Much the same triangle exists for the troupe after working hours, until it is further complicated by the advent of a real-life Navy pilot (Peter Lawford, complete with British accent). We are not told the end of the native girl's story, but it could hardly be more contrived or less consequential than the solution to the romantic quadrangle as brought about by a harassed assistant director (Jimmy Durante) and a benign Navy brass hat (Leon Ames) jointly playing cupid. As an opulent Technicolor spectacle this may be passable family entertainment, but playing up its satiric possibilities or

injecting a decently light directoral touch would have made it easier to overlook its plot deficiencies. (MGM)

DREAM GIRL and **HAZARD.** In the interest of possible space conservation, the similarities between these two Paramount pictures can be counted off together. Both are concerned with girls of wealth, both of whom have serious mental disturbances. In each case the subject is treated as though it were hilariously funny; the two heroines are cured in typical movie fashion by five minutes of amateur psychiatry conducted by the same typically masterful leading man — MacDonald Carey. *Dream Girl* finds Betty Hutton taking refuge from an aimless existence by imagining herself in all sorts of melodramatic situations. These daydreams, in which she is variously a hostess in a South Seas dive, the pioneer mother of twins and an overnight sensation in the opera, are imaginatively staged and extremely amusing in themselves, but serve only as intermittent help to a picture which is badly overdrawn and contains no antidote for an unwholesome atmosphere. In *Hazard*, Paulette Goddard plays a compulsive gambler who welters on a bet with a racketeer and is consequently pursued geographically and later romantically by a private detective. The production staff seems to have wavered between the *Lost Weekend* and the *It Happened One Night* approach and have incorporated the least attractive features of both. (Paramount)

MOIRA WALSH

Parade

A NOTE OF STRANGENESS flavored the week's news. . . . Over wide areas, the thing least expected to occur occurred. . . . In a luxurious New York country home, a week-end guest stepped out of her second-floor bedroom, bumped into a horse in the hallway. . . . A New Jersey passenger boarded a bus, handed the driver a twenty-dollar bill, received in change a sack containing 399 nickels. The driver had become weary of getting twenty-dollar bills from this same passenger. . . . Juries acted oddly. . . . In Michigan a citizen, sued by his neighbor on the grounds that his goats gave off an offensive odor, asked the jury to smell for themselves. The jury journeyed to the defendant's home, sniffed, pronounced the odor in-

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offensive. . . . In Kentucky a husband's plea that he killed his wife because she had been running around with Republicans failed to sway a jury composed of Democrats. . . . Strange scenes shook court rooms. . . . In England an elderly woman, after testifying how horrified she was by the defendant, a burglar, when he broke into her home, added: "He suddenly turned to me and said, 'I am just as frightened as you are, really.'" As the woman finished testifying, there was a thud in the dock. The timid burglar had fainted. . . . In Baltimore a mouse atomized a court's dignity. It first ran up the bailiff's sleeve, then jumped out of the sleeve and scurried into the jury box. The judge called a recess. . . . Homing pigeons were apparently slowing down. . . . Back in the year 1939, a Cleveland citizen sent a homing pigeon on a ten-mile trip. Last week, the pigeon returned, nine years late.

The odd squirms and twists taken by events were confined to no one field. . . . The education field came up with twists. . . . In a Texas university hand-writing class, a student improved his penmanship so considerably that the bank refused to honor checks bearing his improved signature. . . . Events burst dizzily in the transportation field. . . . In New York, a visitor to the city stepped into a taxicab, found in conversing with the driver that he was the brother he had not seen for forty years. . . . There were strange goings-on in the medical field. . . . In Oklahoma City, doctors operated, left a yard of gauze and a safety-pin inside the patient. A court awarded \$1,200 to the patient for the internal gauze and pin. . . . In Indiana, after an official dinner given health officials from five States gathered to wrestle with health problems, all the health officials came down with food poisoning. . . . In the field of chiropody, strange utterances bubbled. In Washington an official of the National Association of Chiropodists declared: "Feet, as we know them today, are on the way out. In 10,000 years, toes will be gone and the foot will look more like a hoof."

In the most important field of all occurred the strangest of all the strange things. . . . During the week, as in the past, most human beings manifested intense concern for their security in this brief, present life. . . . During the week, lots of human beings manifested little or no concern for their security in the eternal life to come.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

Correspondence

The Brenner Circle

EDITOR: In Mr. von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's article "Literature on the Continent" (AMERICA, May 8) the "Brenner Circle" in Innsbruck is accused of "toying with heresy."

Many intellectuals of my generation, priests as well as laymen, saw in the "Brenner" the finest expression of Catholic thought in Austria. Our debt to this circle, to the inspired editorship of Ludwig von Ficker, to the contributions of the great Theodor Haecker, we cannot so soon forget. It seems a shame that this important development of contemporary Catholicism should be introduced to readers of AMERICA in such an invidious fashion.

So grave and damning a charge as "toying with heresy" should be made only by a competent theologian. Is Mr. von Kuehnelt-Leddihn qualified to pass judgment in matters of heresy?

BRUNO SCHLESINGER

Holy Cross, Ind.

Social security

EDITOR: A communication in the June 5 issue of AMERICA ("Social security," by Ed Willock) implied that the social-security program was a reluctantly accepted necessity, because "a return to the idealism of communal, reciprocal charity . . . is a naive suggestion in face of ingrained individualism and mass unemployment."

Apparently the writer feels that we need naïveté before we can get wholeheartedly into the work of Christian restoration. This concept of social security as a barrier to the work of Christian restoration is of little value in meeting the problems of our complex social order, which the Popes have so accurately described and prescribed for. The "school of Catholic thought which displays little or no enthusiasm for social security" might profitably study it as a step toward the social justice which, I am sure, they seek.

That social security is a factor in generating "a climate of irresponsibility unfavorable to Christian virtue" and that government steps in with such programs only by default, is doubtful, in view of comments by the leader of another school of Catholic thought, Leo XIII, who believed that those who are badly off "must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the state." Further

consideration of the writings of the same Pontiff—who also pointed out the legitimate areas of government activity—would reveal several other points of difference between the two schools. When a community, acting through its representatives, inaugurates plans for the equitable treatment of its members and for the securing of their rights, through measures like unemployment compensation, OASI, ADC, etc., might it not be fostering justice? Communal charity, as the doctrine of the Mystical Body indicates, goes beyond the neighborhood. Securing the passage of good social legislation can be true charity as well as an act of civic justice.

Chicago, Ill. CHARLES REILLY

World Council of Churches

EDITOR: I have just read with great interest and appreciation the fair, objective and highly intelligent article concerning the Amsterdam Assembly of non-Roman Churches as published in AMERICA, issue of June 5.

As one who believes firmly in a frank and brotherly facing of differences rather than in mutual recriminations and devastating weakness which comes from controversy among those who ought at least to be united in a common loyalty to a common Lord, I want to thank you.

HENRY SMITH LEIPER

Executive Secretary,

The American Committee for

World Council of Churches

New York, N. Y.

Appreciation

EDITOR: May I, on behalf of the membership of Empire Branch No. 36, National Association of Letter Carriers, express my sincere and whole-hearted appreciation of your kind interest in our recent and present campaign for an increase in salary?

Fr. Gardiner's AMERICA program on May 27 at Fordham University, on FM Station WFUV, at 7:15 P.M., provided additional public sentiment in our favor. When our legislative objective is realized, it will have been achieved through the efforts of public-spirited individuals such as you represent.

PHILIP LEPPER, President

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